

Sep<sup>r</sup> 1862.

as far as this proposed measure does  
as we could not then do, because  
its position has been changed for it  
by the open rebellion of the Slave-  
States. We remain where we were,  
but we find <sup>on our side & not</sup> the government in front  
of us, & in opposition. It is practically  
so, in the main bearings of that  
matter, quite independently of degrees  
of individual advancement, in opin-  
ion, or personal rectitude, in action.  
Our last petition, for <sup>of the change of position</sup> example, was  
of necessity, dividing in its operation;  
because, as you will doubtless re-  
collect, it asked one State Government  
for action not in accordance with our  
National Government. The petition  
we now propose, will be uniting.  
It will ask for what the Non-Resist-  
ant, the Abolitionist, the Disunionist,  
the Quaker, the people, the Army  
& the Government both State &  
National, all feel the need of.  
It will ask for that thing of indis-  
pensable necessity, not under the  
Civil Government, which has no Con-  
stitutional sanction for <sup>granting</sup> the request,  
but under the War Government,  
which protects the Constitution from







at length impossible: for who  
will go to battle against the Slave  
power, under obligation to shed  
his blood so as not to do it any  
harm? - bound hand & foot  
while Slaves whom he must  
not receive though they long to  
fight by his side, turn desperately  
to working against him the  
masked batteries & heaving up  
the intrenchments of their Mas-  
ters? - Who will raise money  
for such an insane operation?  
We do not wish to subvert the South  
in the popular sense of the term.  
But the popular instincts demand  
the advance of the flag, & subvert  
rebellion they will. We know  
that to be impossible without abol-  
ishing Slavery, & we tell them so.  
They are ready to snatch at the  
idea & make it their own. Already  
their greater Leaders, like Butler  
& Dickinson / pardon names unknown  
to fame with you - they are the  
Democratic Leaders of the past with



Who are now taking time by the  
Foullock, ) are starting ahead in the  
line of policy, & proclaiming  
to the Nation, that they "don't  
care who just moved in the Nation  
— democrats or abolitionists."

Meanwhile we, do what we will,  
are the best supporters of the Govern-  
ment. Do we say — "The government has  
not the shadow of an Anti Sla-  
very policy?" — We help it to make  
Military head against the hypo-  
critical loyalists of Maryland &  
Kentucky, who want union to  
be sustained thereby in Slavery. (Like  
Holt of Kentucky, influential with  
the President Lincoln. Do we cry  
"no loans no levies till Slavery is  
abolished?" it sustains them in the  
face of this thousand or two of loyal  
Slaveholders; — to whom they can  
plead in excuse, the impossibility  
of not obeying the people, as  
they do to us the impossibility  
of disobeying the Court when



Sept 2 1862

The hour, then, is spontaneous. You will see, that, though our appeal to you for such aid, if any, as you may feel disposed to extend to us, is later than usual in the year, it is not later than the <sup>prudent</sup> necessities of the case obliged, while earlier would have been impracticable on account of the derangement of the Young meetings which precluded the counsel requisite for associated action. Even now, I am obliged to act in this matter more individually than I like, though not the less in unity of action & purpose on that account. I suppose the friends would <sup>at first</sup> have been glad that I should have made no difference in my individual action this year, from any other year, — exceptional as the present one is; <sup>but they will see I am prof. my intention do now.</sup> for example. If I had made no difference, & trusted to a festival of my individual imitation, as in former years, the Society would inevitably have been beaten out,



in September, the present time  
i.e. It would have gone in  
debt, & nor had the money to  
pay, on the eve of the next Annual  
Meeting at the Festival which  
it had been returning on.  
Our friends who have the helm  
& are watching the Stars, can-  
not be expected to be at the  
same time casting the sound-  
ing-line. In doing that, one  
cannot fail to perceive when  
the water shoals, - & when  
we must "slow the boat" in  
order not to bump ashore, as  
they say at sea. But "the  
Gods, - Saviours of Seamen"  
have stood by us. We have  
committed no error not retribu-  
ble, even though it may be  
classed among errors that here  
& there a one of us thinks of  
Great Britain in a way that  
here & there a another, cannot



"Mum - a la 1858" - women - women

do. I believe in the good  
purpose anti-slavery integ-  
rity of Great Britain. But  
it would not do for me to issue  
a call on the friends to pay  
the money from your bill,  
or help me to pour out tea &  
drink it on this, while not only  
that matter, but a thousand  
others were fermenting in all  
minds. I could neither speak of  
peace, nor of war; - nor of  
hope, nor of despair; nor of so-  
on as we always have done,  
with the sword of the spirit; - nor  
of "lying low till the tide served,"  
nor of "saying unto the children  
of Israel that they go forward," - nor  
of "standing still to see the salvation  
of God;" + I could not utter a  
single word that would not have  
awakened the very spirit of debate  
& controversy which, as betray-  
ing an unsettled policy, is fatal to  
a purpose of raising contributions.  
Imagine the Liberator, filled with unwarshames

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I was obliged to wait till  
our policy was a a settled one  
& longer than usual, because  
the National Crisis forbade us  
to exhibit the unsustained spec-  
tacle in the Spring, of public  
debate about a Million of  
incidentals, when the Country  
was beating among the ~~hears~~  
~~ears~~. You will see <sup>by this</sup> how wise  
has been the policy of furison  
so much depreciated by Pillsbury  
The zeal & fidelity of the latter  
always need the advantage of  
the sound judgement of the former  
You may have heard us say  
in former years, why <sup>it was thought</sup> had the  
Monitor to make myself a  
financier for the Cause: When  
public debate, <sup>& personal blame & rebukes</sup> were necessary, indispensable  
the only means we possessed of  
beating up the deady opposition  
to the Cause, I perceived that the  
decrease of them deprived us of  
pecuniary means - made it impo-  
sible for us to raise money at the



Meetings, while the perception that it was so, operated depressingly, to make men doubt the expediency of rebuke. This I quietly settled last year as far as I could, by taking up a position as of finance, out of & apart from the Society, & asking individuals to help me, many of whom would smile to me who would not. This has been an excellent arrangement thus far, - doing all that I could have hoped & more.

But the time has come when the Society is no longer odious, nor in so <sup>special a manner</sup> a need of rebuke. <sup>the administration of</sup> No reason exists, why so long as its field of labor exists, it should not take a session of its annual meeting, for counsel as well as rebuke - instruction as well as correction in righteousness. I have proposed to our friends to invite <sup>great numbers</sup> a <sup>by special note</sup> <sup>this year</sup> to the Society's Meeting, (a meeting for conference - an opportunity for joining new friends to the old ones) instead of <sup>my</sup> doing it,



- as an impediment, as a former time,  
to a festival occasion, — from  
which the component elements  
have been swept away —
- 1<sup>st</sup> by the War —
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> by the course of Gov. Andrew  
last winter, or rather, the consequent  
course of some of our dear friends. —
  - 3<sup>d</sup> By a sense of the impropriety  
of festivity to the times. —
  - 4<sup>th</sup> by the preference of dear  
friends — the solid & best ones,  
to give their money directly  
to the Society, now that abolition  
ness hunts & does not help it,  
now that it might <sup>itself</sup> be pop-  
ular without compromise,  
as any festival or ladies-  
reception could be. —

But all that I cannot argue  
about. Who am I that I  
should say to our dear & true  
friends who have sons now  
in battle, like so many of the  
names on our list, — the  
list that I have been in the  
habit of recomposing by



& addition

Selection for so many years —

"Come help me pour out tea?"

When the clink of festal crockery does not sound pleasantly to them?

3  
out  
to.

Who am I that I should blame Wendell Phillips for driving Mrs Andrew off our list? — he did what he deemed his faithful duty: & if he transcended my idea of what the case required, am I likely to tell her so, or is there any need of it? — it is sufficient as a fact — that the whole friendly republican party, now the administration —

the whole country, will see in us — (the tea-givers she helped) even more than in the Society, the dispraisers of their governor. In Boston, where the tea-pot is, all those guests of last year, will not be guests of this; I take my pencil



x (and getting that money now, will fine the subscription a little chance to rally, - seem we were obliged to do as fast as we can.)

And check of the names in <sup>country</sup> available for service, - (real service, whether by person or prestige) - there are but two whether wish to continue the mission, and I likely to argue against it, or throw an obstacle in the way? - I know not. But we must, in the mean time, have money. We were as Lt. Com. obliged to send out Circulars for the Standard: - the funds desired to know of me if I would have them trans till January or not. I reply not: for, in giving of Mr. May if the money came in well, he told me it did not. I was obliged, therefore, to liberate the "28<sup>th</sup> National" subscriptions. + I sent the little notice you will have seen to the Standard & Liberator, & Thompson came enough, by advance, to go on till



Next May, as I learn; —  
 At a good deal of sacrifice from  
 the next friends. So that whatever  
 comes to us from Europe will  
 be expended in a more sat-  
 isfactory manner to the more  
 distant friends who alimenter  
 the collections of the Parsons  
 the Mighams, the Edmondsons  
 the Webbs & the other dear  
 centres of influence who, like  
 yourself are ~~was~~ "ready  
 eye ready," — than if it  
 wenty kicking up old Ma-  
 chinery — moving a mill with  
 no fire in its hopper. You,  
 Abbas of you in Great  
 Britain, I have supposed  
 would see through this Millstone  
 at which I have been  
 so long grinding, & put the  
 contribution you might choose



to make us, into Mr Dowditch's  
(the treasurer's) hands, through  
any, - the most convenient  
Channel, - Now that  
sending them to me  
would be merely a form,  
& a needless one, I took for  
granted, that you all needed  
no tea-party - nor were under  
the delusion that it was  
eternal Anti-Slavery work -  
not to be resisted under entirely  
opposite circumstances from the  
ones that called it forth: but  
I found Mr May & family  
much attached to the tea-party,  
so I shall pay, <sup>or have had I should say,</sup> my subscription  
to the dear old Lady his Mother,  
in case she should like to try  
her hand this year. I love her  
much, - but it is not well, if the  
Society is to continue, in times  
like these, that it should have

written in the margin



One in that position. It has  
been, possibly, a minor sort  
of trial to dear brother May, that  
I cease the intimation, this year  
of was good up to last year; -  
Happily, - that is nobody's  
responsibility but my own -  
& after writing to all our  
dear friends to thank them  
& to say I could not this year  
engage them to help me, I left  
the future blank, for others to  
write a "call" or forbear, as  
seemed to them best. The dif-  
ficulty (or one difficulty) attendant  
on any human undertaking  
is, the into it settles down into:  
the outline it becomes a pris-  
oner to. Post driven as I  
I mine were from pillow  
to post" (or from pillar to post, is it?)  
I get the advantage from it of  
seeing a vast variety of lights  
on a vast variety of waves,  
by keeping my "eyes" light-wide

1848  
Dear Mother  
The 10th of the year



September 1862

pen. To go back to the Memorial  
I am having it printed on  
the back of a "patriotic envelope"  
of my own contrivance, for the  
convenience of sowing the  
idea, & I will send you one  
as soon as I can. The exact  
shape it will take, I am un-  
certain of. If we speak of com-  
pensation or conciliation, neither  
the people nor the abolitionists  
will sign, though the government  
will seem to like that better.  
But government is nobody. I  
do not believe for my own part,  
in "bridging with gold the path of  
the retreating fiend." No. "Lice  
him with a pitch-fork!" is the  
motto of the people now, with re-  
gard to him, - & why should we  
be any reader to pay for the  
Loyalty of Maryland & Virginia  
& Kentucky than they? I will give  
all I have to reconstruct <sup>upon the proclamation</sup> on that  
Constitutional basis of equal, legal  
liberty, which is a sine qua non.